Antidote

Reg. No. B 3092

HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. X, No. 31 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1946 TWO ANNAS

SALES TAX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have received many letters in regard to the Sales Tax Act of the Bombay Presidency. Many arguments advanced against it are, in my opinion, thoughtless. Nevertheless, I placed some of the complaints before the Finance Minister. Shri Vaikunthbhai Mehta is a cautious and conscientious Minister. He has sent me a full reply.

It appears that this Act was framed before the popular Government came in. The present Ministry have made some essential changes in it. The letters received by me were full of criticism giving the impression that the present Government was wilful, indifferent to public opinion and the tax was already in vogue. As a matter of fact, not only has the collection of the Sales Tax not begun, but it has been postponed till October 1st and may be delayed still further if need be. Moreover, many articles of necessary use have been exempted, thereby showing that the Government has paid due attention to public objections and inconvenience. I am aware that there are people who hold that there should be no Sales Tax at all. A great deal has been said in favour of this view. But no government can exist if it were to listen to abstract objections. In other words, it is wisdom, in such cases, not to raise basic issues.

The Sales Tax is in vogue in many provinces. The main criterion in judging any tax should be that it does not hit the poor. It should also be seen that the money raised thereby, is used for the public good.

A popular ministry is responsible to the legislatures and cannot do anything without their consent. Every elected member in a popular legislature is responsible to his voters. Therefore, the voter who represents the public should ponder well before embarking on any criticism of the government of his creation. Moreover, one bad habit of the people should be borne in mind. They do not like any tax whatsoever. Where there is good government, the tax-payer gets full return for his money as, for example, the water tax in cities. No tax-payer could get water on his own for the same payment. But even so, and in spite of the fact that the tax is levied by the popular will, tax-payers always resent even paying such taxes. It is, of course, true that one cannot prove the benefit of all taxes as easily as the one I have cited as an example. But as society grows in size and complexity and the field of service also grows, it is difficult to explain to the individual tax-payer, how he gets his return for any particular tax. This much, however, is clear that taxes as a whole should stand for the general benefit of society. If this were not so, the argument that taxes were levied by popular will would not hold. To the extent that we are still under foreign rule, the Government is not wholly responsible to the people. But in the Provinces today the Governments are popular up to a large extent and we must judge the Sales Tax accordingly.

New Delhi, 29-8-'46 (From *Harijanbandhu*)

A SILVER LINING

It is an ill wind that blows no one any good. If a full account of all the kind acts of neighbourliness were to be recounted, it would probably balance the dark deeds of violence perpetrated by the men who had temporarily sunk to the level of beasts recently in Calcutta. For if man has the divine in him, he should inherently be good. The following letter from a Mahommedan is heartening :

> "I live in Ballygunje Place. On August 18th my house was threatened but my Hindu friends kept the mob in check. Towards evening, however, the educated Hindus of the locality were losing control. Mine is a family of 35, mostly women and children. It was not possible to remove them with excited hooligans running about. My family and I, therefore, took shelter in the house of a Hindu neighbour while another took charge of my belongings.
>
> "The rowdy element got scent of it and threatened my friend. 'Turn them out, you cannot save them', was their demand. 'I know I cannot save them, but I can die before they are touched,' was the firm reply. Attempts were made by some of my League friends to remove me and my family from this locality but I refused to leave my place of shelter, backed by all the cultured Hindus of Ballygunje Place.
>
> "My brother has two shops in this locality; these were saved by the Hindus while my brother and nephews worked in the local volunteer corps to fight hooligans whoever they might be.
>
> I am convinced that we Muslims and Hindus can live together peacefully unless a clash is engineered."

Such instances of Muslims harbouring their Hindu friends are also on record. If all were to realize that the bond of humanity transcends all barriers of caste, creed and race, we would make life worth living and banish the spectre of fear which today haunts not only individuals and communities, but whole nations and is the root cause of hate.

New Delhi, 30-8-'46 A. K.

THE ECONOMICS OF KHADI

In the issue of the 27th of June of the *Eastern Economist*, a journal edited by the well known economist Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, there is an article entitled '*Khadi Economy*'. After giving figures of various kinds, this article seeks to prove that if the required quota of man power were to be employed in the production of Khadi necessary to clothe India, there would not be enough persons left for the other essential services such as railway, police, education, medicine etc. "As a subsidiary industry for seasonal occupation, such as agriculture, Charkha certainly has a place among the cottage industries. But as an economic policy for the nation it spells pauperism."

The chief points raised in support of the argument are :

(a) India needs 800 crores square yards of cloth on the basis of 20 square yards per capita consumption.

(b) 3·30 crores of workers will be required to spin the necessary yarn.

(c) On the basis that a worker winds, warps and weaves 2½ yards cloth in 8 hours per day, 1·06 crores of weavers will be required.

(d) Ginning will occupy ·16 crore, carding etc. about ·42 crore, bringing the total man power necessary for only the manufacturing processes of Khadi to roughly 5 crores. In addition, 330 lakhs Charkhas will have to be renewed annually for which lakhs of carpenters will be required. 30 lakhs of workmen will have to be reckoned on for making 5 lakhs of looms. 55 lakhs of bales of 400 lbs cotton will be required. The labour required for producing, collecting and transporting this huge quantity of cotton and for making all the above-mentioned accessories can be safely estimated at at least 7 crores, representing 18% of the total population. If 40 per cent of the population is reckoned as the labouring quota, 16 crores may be taken as a rough figure for India. If Khadi employs seven out of these sixteen, only nine crores are left to grow food, build houses, exploit mines, govern, police and protect the country, provide health and educational facilities etc. Since agriculture alone absorbs more than 11 crores, the production of cloth and food between them, will take up more than the entire working population, what about the other services ?

We will try to answer the above arguments one by one. Let us take weaving first. The writer has stated that 1 crore 6 lakhs of weavers are required. If 'weavers' include all the helpers that a weaver requires, the figure is correct. Even before the war, there were a crore of weavers in India, so that there is not much increase of labour required in this section. Weavers today are not getting enough yarn to fulfil their needs. Khadi production would at once absorb all these unemployed.

The same applies to the argument regarding the production of spinning wheels, looms and other accessories. We have more than the requisite quota of looms and spinning wheels in India today. No new ones need be manufactured immediately. Moreover, a spinning wheel lasts a lifetime. Even if some new Charkhas have to be manufactured to begin with, there will never be any need to produce them by the lakh annually. Only a certain amount of repairing will be required.

The fact is that no special or greater number of artisans is required for the manufacture of wheels, looms etc. The experience of the A. I. S. A. shows that wherever Khadi is being produced and the production is increasing, the very persons who produce and repair agricultural implements produce and repair Khadi implements too. These artisans do not now get full time work. But if wheels and looms were to ply in every village, they would certainly get wholetime occupation.

We will not have to start cotton-growing in order to produce 800 crores square yards of Khadi and, therefore, the question of more labour for producing, collecting and transporting 55 lakhs of bales of cotton does not really arise. India today produces, collects and transports more than 60 lakhs bales of cotton. On the contrary, our plan is for every village to produce enough cotton for its ov[illegible] needs. If this is done, the cost and labour required b[illegible] big textile millowners and businessmen, middlemen etc. for transport, ginning and pressing factories will all be *ipso facto* eliminated.

There remains the argument of 4 crores persons being required for spinning, carding, ginning etc. But the question of employing labour at the rate of 8 hours per day for this purpose does not come into the picture of Khadi economics. All this work will be done within the orbit of self-sufficiency and as a subsidiary occupation. We want every person to spin at least half an hour daily during his or her leisure hours. On the basis that we have a labouring population of 16 crores, we shall get 8 crores hours of work from them annually. The number of those who do not do outside labour, is 24 crores which includes children, the aged and women. If we remove from this number those who are too old and sick and all children under sev[illegible] years of age, say 12 crores, we shall still have [illegible] crores in addition to the 16, who can give at least an hour per day to spinning and carding. Moreover, included in the 16 crores are 11 crores agriculturists who are idle for at least 3 months in the year (giving us on an average 2 hours daily in addition) and who can also help to spin and card. In this way we can easily get 42 crores hours of work from all these persons instead of the 32 we need. The 12 crores mentioned above can, if needed, give us more than one hour daily from their leisure hours, so that we can really produce more than the assumed quota without drawing on any further man power.

It will thus be obvious that no more man power than is already available, will be required for cotton growing to weaving for the whole of India. For spinning, carding and ginning can be done during the leisure hours of the general populace. No diversion of labour from other utility services is, therefore, necessary. In fact labour engaged in ginning, pressing

factories etc. and textile mills to the tune of 10 lakhs will be released for other work.

Finally it may be claimed that the entire economic structure of India can and should be based on Khadi. If it is based on centralized large-scale industry, the villages of India will have no peace, no well-being and no plenty.

That Khadi is neither as beautiful nor as enduring as mill cloth and that it is much more expensive are all arguments that have been dealt with before on several occasions and, therefore, need not be refuted again here.

(From *Harijansevak*) KRISHNADAS GANDHI

A WAIL FROM GOA

Shri Purushottam Kakodkar in the course of a Hindi letter dated 12-8-'46 to Gandhiji from Panjim Prison, Goa, describes how, while he was talking with a friend on the main road, he was arrested at about 9 p. m. on Friday the 9th August by one Mr. Figardo, a Portuguese Police Official of Madgaon. On the 10th at about 10 o'clock he was brought under armed police escort to the Mamlatdar's *chery*, where he was interrogated by the Mamlatdar. In the course of examining him, the Mamlatdar lost his temper, used foul language and threatened " to do him to death." The same evening he was brought to Panjim Prison. According to his narration, food is served there twice a day, at noon and at night. Every time, it consists of rice, literally a handful, with little *dal* splashed on it, and a couple of spoonfuls of vegetables in addition to one or two *papads*. This is called " half ration ", *adha khana*. When he drew the attention of a Portuguese Police Official to it, he was told that it was according to the rules and that he had no authority to give more. Even this provision is for 'beggars', not for those who have the means.

Shri Kakodkar proceeds.

> " I took this food at midday today, although it was altogether inadequate. I have not committed any offence against society, yet have been made a compulsory guest of the Government. Whom can I ask to send me food from outside ? I do not feel justified in sitting here like a drone and eating food provided by the labour of others. I am going to tell the authorities that I am prepared to work and that they must provide me with proper food."

Referring to conditions of jail administration, he says that sometimes, for hours, no watchman appears on the scene. The fault is not the watchman's but of the administration. The result is that prisoners who are locked up in the cells cannot attend to even the morning appointments regularly. For instance, when he gets up at 4-30 a. m. no watchman is anywhere to be seen and so he has to wait till 7 or 7-15 a. m. when alone he can answer the call of nature. Shri Kakodkar adds that he is suffering from piles which have flared up since his arrest owing to starvation, sleeplessness and too much chillies in the food.

New Delhi, 1-9-'46 PYARELAL

Errata :

(1) In Harijan of 18-8-'46, p. 261, column 1, para 3, line 2, read 'long discipleship' instead 'love discipleship'.

(2) Same number, same page, column 2, para 1, line 5, delete the word 'unaided'.

ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

ENGLISH	HINDUSTANI

Abominable *adj.* मकरूह, नफ़रत (घृणा)के क़ाबिल । مکروہ، نفرت (گھرنا) کے قابل

Abound *v.* भरपूर होना, मालामाल होना । بھر پور ہونا، مالامال ہونا

Abridge *v.* खुलासा करना, घटाना, संक्षेप करना । خلاصہ کرنا، گھٹانا، سنکشیپ کرنا

Abrupt *adj.* अचानक, यकायक । اچانك ، یکایك

Abscess *n.* फोड़ा । پھوڑا

Absence *n.* ग़ैरहाज़िरी, अभाव (श्री० का०) । غیرحاضری، ابھاو (شری - کا)

Absolute *adj.* पूरा पूरा, पूरन (श्री०) । پوراپورا، پورن (شری)

Absolve *v.* माफ़ी देना, बरी करना । مافی دینا، بری کرنا

Absorb *v.* चूसना, घुल मिल जाना, सोख लेना, घुल मिलाना (का०) । چوسنا، گھل مل جانا، سوکھ لینا، گھل ملانا (کا)

Abstain *v.* दूर रहना, बचना । دور رهنا، بچنا

Abstract *v.* निकालना । نکالنا

Abstract *n.* खुलासा । خلاصہ

Abstract *adj.* ख़याली । خیالی

Absurd *adj.* बेतुका, लचर, फ़ज़ूल । بےتکا، لچر، فضول

Abundance *n.* रेलपेल, बहुतात, बहुतायत (का०) । ریل پیل، بہتات، بہتایت (کا)

Abuse *v.* बुराभला कहना, गाली देना, दुरुपयोग करना । برابھلا کہنا، گالی دینا، درپیوگ کرنا

Abuse *n.* बुरी रीत, गाली । بری ریت، گالی

Abyss *n.* खड्ड, गढ़ा, रसातल । کھڈ، گھڑھا، رساتل

Accent *n.* लहजा, ज़ोर, भार । لحظہ، زور، بھار

Accept *v.* मानना, क़बूल करना । ماننا، قبول کرنا

Access *n.* पहुँच, रास्ता । پہنچ، راستہ

Accident *n.* वारदात, अकस्मात, घटना (श्री०) । واردات، اکسمات، گھٹنا (شری)

Accidentally *n. adv.* अचानक । اچانك

Accommodation *n.* जगह, गुंजाअिश । جگہ، گنجائش

Accompany *v.* संग होना या जाना, साथ हो लेना (का०) । سنگ ہونا یا جانا، ساتھ ہو لینا (کا)

Accomplice *n.* साथी (गुनाहमें) । ساتھی (گناہ میں)

Accomplish *v.* पूरा करना । پورا کرنا

Accomplished *adj.* निपुण, कमाल, ख़ूबीवाला । نپن، کمال، خوبی والا

According to *prep.* मुताबिक़, अनुसार (श्री०) । مطابق، انوسار (شری)

According as *prep.* जैसे । جیسے

Account *n.* हिसाब, बयान । حساب، بیان

On account of कारण, वजहसे । کارن، وجہ سے

Account for *v.* हिसाब देना, जवाब देना, ठिकाने लगाना । حساب دینا، جواب دینا، ٹھکانے لگانا

Accumulate *v.* अिकट्ठा करना या होना । اکٹھا کرنا یا ہونا

Accuse *v.* माथे थोपना (किसी के), अिलज़ाम लगाना । ماتھے تھوپنا (کسی کے)، الزام لگانا

Accustom *v.* आदत डालना । عادت ڈالنا

Achieve *v.* पा लेना, हासिल करना (का०) । پا لینا، حاصل کرنا (کا)

Acid *adj. n.* खट्टा, तेज़ाब । کھٹا، تیزاب

Acknowledge *v.* रसीद देना, पहुँच लिखना, मानना । رسید دینا، پہنچ لکھنا، ماننا

HARIJAN

September 8 1946

ANTIDOTE

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

After giving a graphic description of the recent unfortunate and disgraceful happenings in Calcutta, a writer asks: "What is our duty in such circumstances? The Congress gives no clear instructions to the rank and file in such crises. Sermons on non-violence from afar are of little use. To have offered non-violent resistance would have meant allowing all property to be destroyed and every Hindu to be killed."

The Congress Working Committee has given the clearest possible lead in the last sentence of its resolution published in the newspapers. Fratricide will not abate by "intimidation and violence but by mutual understanding, friendly discussion and, if necessary, by agreed arbitration." One does not need to believe in non-violence as a creed to perceive the truth of this practical proposition. If through deliberate courage the Hindus had died to a man, that would have been deliverance of Hinduism and India and purification of Islam in this land.

As it was, a third party had to intervene in order to still mutual savagery. Neither the Muslims nor the Hindus concerned have gained by the intervention. Supposing that the Calcutta virus extends to the whole of India and British gunpowder keeps the two from stabbing one another, the British power or its substitute will be in possession of India for a long time to come. The length will be measured by the period required by the parties coming to sanity. It will come either by an exhausting mutual fight, independent of the foreign element or by one party eschewing violence in spite of heaviest odds. Successful mutual strife is obviously impossible in the present state of general ignorance of the use of modern weapons and their inaccessibility. Non-violence does not require any outside or outward training. It simply requires the will not to kill even in retaliation and the courage to face death without revenge. This is no sermon on *ahimsa* but cold reason and the statement of a universal law. Given the unquenchable faith in the law, no provocation should prove too great for the exercise of forbearance. This I have described as non-violence of the brave.

Unfortunately for us, we are strangers to the non-violence of the brave on a mass scale. Some even doubt the possibility of the exercise of non-violence by groups, much less by masses of people. They restrict its exercise to exceptional individuals. Only, mankind can have no use for it if it is always reserved only for individuals.

Be that as it may, this much is clear that if the people are probably not ready for the exercise of non-violence of the brave, they must be ready for the use of force in self-defence. There should be no camouflage. Self-defence must be pure and simple. Then too it must never be cowardly or crude. It must, therefore, never be secret. Such is stabbing in the back and evading detection. I am conscious of the fact that we are a people unarmed and untrained in the use of arms. Opinions will differ as to whether it is good that we are in that position. There can be no denying the fact that no one needs training in the use of arms in self-defence. What is wanted for the purpose is strong arms and stronger will.

Doing injury to another is obviously violence but harbouring injury to another and yet unwillingness from cowardice to defend oneself or one's neighbour is also violence and probably worse than the first.

What then are the leaders to do? What are the new Ministers to do? They must ever seek to attain communal harmony — never under threats, ever for its own sake. I regard a Muslim or any Non-Hindu as my blood brother, not in order to please him but because he is born of the same mother Hind as I am. He does not cease to be my brother because he may hate or disown me. I must woo him even, it may be, in spite of himself. The new Ministers must resolve never to use British troops, no matter what their hue is, not even the police trained by them. They are not our enemies. But they have been hitherto used not to help the people but to keep them under the foreign yoke. They should now, as they can, be used for constructive purposes. The military are specially qualified for such work. They are trained and expected to bring into being canvas cities in a moment. They know what it is to procure and keep clean water and make perfect sanitary arrangements. No doubt, they know how to kill and be killed in the act. The public know this part of their work only too well. But it is by no means the most substantial part of their work. It is the background which should be prized, advertised and followed. The animal part of it is unhuman, the other part is essentially human and clean. Let us copy it and humanize the troops if we can. The attempt is worth making. It can only be made by those who are not deceived by the glamour that hangs round them and the awe they inspire. This is possible only when we have the courage to face death without revenge or retaliation in mind or deed.

New Delhi, 2-9-'46

For Readers

The 'Question Box' has become a regular feature of the *Harijan*. It tries to resolve the doubts of questioners as far as possible. But the post often contains questions which have been answered in one form or the other on more than one occasion. Readers should study the contents of 'Question Box' carefully.

Then there are letters asking for medical advice for sick people. The desire is there to answer such questions. But the fulfilment must take time. It is difficult too to satisfy incomplete postal inquiries. Ailing correspondents should wait awhile.

New Delhi, 2-9-'46 M. K. G.

HINDUSTANI V. URDU AND HINDI

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

A Bombay Government circular of 16-8-'39 reads:

"It has been observed that the word *Hindustani* is being used indifferently for Hindi or Hindustani. Please note that Hindustani is different and distinct from both *Hindi* and *Urdu*, and when a reference to that language is to be made, it should be made as *Hindustani* only."

On 9th October 1940 a press note was issued:

"In September 1938 the Government of Bombay announced their decision to introduce the study of Hindustani in the schools of the Province. Steps were accordingly taken to implement that decision and the language is being taught in the primary schools, secondary schools and in the training institutions. In actual practice the teaching of the language in the schools has raised certain difficulties which have to be considered. The chief of them are lack of literature in the language, as it has yet to develop and the absence of suitable text books for use in schools. The Hindustani text books now in use, have been found to be defective, both in regard to the language used in them which is said to contain too many words of Hindi origin and in regard to the subject matter of the lessons included in them, some of which are stated to be unsuitable for Muslim pupils. Besides, both Urdu and Hindustani have so much of a common vocabulary, that it has been suggested that it is unnecessary to insist on the teaching of Hindustani in Urdu schools. The Government having carefully considered the whole question have now directed that though there is no serious objection to the teaching of Hindustani in other institutions, Urdu educational institutions in the Province, i. e. the primary and secondary schools and training institutions, where the medium of instruction is Urdu, should be exempted from the inclusion of such teaching in the curriculum."

Another circular issued in 1941 exempts Hindi schools from the teaching of Hindustani, thus leaving Hindu schools where the medium is other than Hindi or Urdu for teaching Hindustani. What is the present Government of the Province, which is based on popular will, to do?

The answer is contained in the admission that the present Provincial Government is based on popular will. If the Hindi schools wish to have Hindustani, the national language, taught in the primary and secondary schools, it should be taught. Naturally the question has to be decided by the parents of the children, learning in these schools. If they do not want it and an attempt is made to impose it by force, the claim for being a popular Government cannot be sustained. I should certainly advise the parents to want their children to be taught it. It should never be forgotten that Hindustani is essentially a cross between Hindi and Urdu and written in both the scripts. If the parents want either only Hindi or Urdu and only one script, they cannot impose it on an unbelieving or unwilling Government. Either party has freedom of action.

The question whether Hindustani is or can be a national form of speech is irrelevant at this stage. The argument has, moreover, been examined often enough in previous issues of the *Harijan*.

Sevagram, 25-8-'46

NOT BY FORCE BUT BY FRIENDLINESS

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

Mr. S. Wolff writes from Palestine:

"I rejoiced very much, when I found in the Jerusalem newspaper *Palestine Post*, last Monday, the kind, peaceful words you had published in your *Harijan* just before the last most terrible outrage on 'King David' Hotel caused more than 150 casualties. Of course, I do very well understand your requirement towards my countrymen, that 'adversity would teach them lessons of peace', but, alas! most of the people do not understand this way. On the contrary, adversity inspires them to additional outrage of hate and anger and blind revenge on anyone in their reach, whether he is actually guilty or innocent in their terrible disaster and suffering.

"The state of these poor (indeed very poor!) resembles the desperate state of a man who neither believes nor hopes anything any longer and 'fights for life or death' because he 'has nothing more to lose' (as they themselves use to express it) and therefore, prefer to perform all that can be performed in order, at least, to die like 'heroes', not like 'coward nothing-doers'. Of course, they do not believe and can never be made to believe in your sublime weapon of holiness and Satyagraha although, as I once wrote you (on the 26th December, 1938), this is in full agreement with the views of our holy ancestors, and they ought to accept it even from the point of view of their own tradition, and I am quite sure, you do understand it. I remember that several years ago, you told or wrote (it was published here in one of the Hebrew newspapers) in a similar way, that we Jews have, it is true, absolutely no right to impose ourselves over Palestine, but if we nevertheless have the intrinsic desire to come to the land of our ancestors out of aspiration to fulfil here the holy principles of our great Prophets, we should do it only by trying to conquer the hearts of our neighbours and the whole of mankind through love, not by trying to impose ourselves over Palestine by the help of naked force."

Sevagram, 21-8-'46

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ARMAMENTS — AT WHAT COST ?

I

Referring, in 1937, to the cost of rearmament on which many nations had launched before the war and in anticipation of it, John Gunther, in his *Inside Europe* gave the following figures of the cost of some of the pieces of armament:

"Bullets do not cost much. But if you shoot one million rounds an hour at £6 per thousand, the figures mount up. A rifle does not cost much — perhaps £5. But equip an army of one million men, and you have spent £5,000,000. A machine gun costs about £128. The French have about forty thousand of them. A 37 mm. field-gun costs about £200, and each shell about £3. The famous French 75's come to about £1,600 each. They are expensive and intricate, with fuses built like watches. Their shells cost £5 each, and in a single bombardment, some millions may be fired. A big tank, complete, costs about £16,000. A bombing plane may diminish your budget £20,000. A modern cruiser costs £2,200,000, an aircraft carrier £3,800,000, and a big battleship almost £6,000,000."*

And he went on to say:

"The world according to the League of Nations, spent £835,360,000 on armament in 1934. In one year mind you. This sum is too astronomical for ready comprehension . . . . This figure more than doubled itself in two years. In 1937 the world bill for arms was at least £2,000,000,000, believe it or not."

This was before the war. Since the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, the figures kept mounting up at such a speed that men lost count of them. To take but two instances, Britain was reported, at the end of 1941, to be spending on the war over £13 million per day. "The British Government is spending £48000,000 a day, "wrote *Time* on January 5, 1942; and in U. S. A., according to the same authority, the Government spending, in December 1941, "reached a level of $72,000,000 each business day." The first United States budget for war expenses for the fiscal year 1943 (beginning July 1, 1942) was for $58,927,992,300, and the actual war expenses in the preceding year were $52,786,186,000, which was equivalent to $3,295 per hour, and was more than one-half of the estimated national income. President Roosevelt, in presenting the budget before the Congress said on January 6, 1942: "War costs money. So far we have hardly even begun to pay for it." Referring to the taxation that these expenses would require, *Time* made a cryptic remark, "The U. S. was going to have to pay through the nose" (Jan. 19, 1942).†

* The Singapore naval base "had cost the British Empire $400,000,000 and 19 years." Yet, at the time of the Japanese invasion, it was found that "it was useless, and so it had been evacuated before the first Japanese troops were sighted." The battleship *Normandie* (renamed the *Lafayette* after its capture by the U. S. A.), which was burnt in an accidental fire in an American harbour, was "a ship into which the French had poured $60,000,000 and some 2,500,000 man-days of labour." —*Time*, Feb. 16, 1942.

† "The President this week signed the most wnopping appropriations bill of all time in any nation : a $26, 495, 265, 474 appropriation bill to pay for the addition of 25,000 planes to the Navy's sky force and to enlarge the two-ocean Navy." "In January (1942), the month when Donald Nelson's new War Production Board was set up, the Government cleared $11,652,000,000 in defence contracts — as much as in the four preceding months . . . . The Government actually spent $2,276,000,000 on arms — nearly $300,000,000 more than in December. To meet present production goals, by the end of the year, the Government must be spending more than $5,000, 000,000 a month."— *Time*, Feb. 16, 1942.

"(In America) the sudden urgent demand for an unlimited number of planes has started a process of expansion which will increase factory floor space threefold, the number of workers fivefold, and multiply fabulously the monthly production figures." —Alden Stevens in *The Nation* (New York) Oct. 18, 1941.

"To train an army flier for three years in the United States Army, including salaries, equipment, and instructors, is said to cost $100,000 per man."— Haldore Hanson : *Human Endeavour* (1939) p. 158.

II

Arms and ammunition, tanks and aeroplanes are destroyed, every day in modern warfare, at a rate which is incomprehensible. New models and designs are invented at such a feverish speed that armaments become obsolete before they are long in use. For it is not enough to manufacture them at a rapid rate or in large numbers : they must also be superior in destructive capacity to the enemy's armaments. As an American authority on aerial warfare (S. Paul Johnstone) said, "Military design progress follows a zigzag course — one side or the other obtaining a temporary advantage, shortly followed by improvement of design by the other side."

Of this race for the improvements in designs, an American military authority said four years ago :

"Man does not live by bread alone, nor do armies win by munitions. That nation which would impose its will upon another, or resist such imposition, must possess munitions not only in stupendous quantity, but of excellent quality, latest design, and operated by corps upon corps of super-specialists."†

Yet quality by itself does not suffice. Numbers are also as important. Said another American writer, Keith Ayling, in an article on 'The Truth about Air Power', in *Harper's Magazine* for February 1942: "Number is the keynote of air superiority. Produce the finest bomber in the world, and it is merely useful when you have a thousand of the type. At ten thousand it becomes efficient, at twenty thousand it is the super machine the designer intended." (Twenty thousand of only one type, in warfare where several types have to be put in action at a time!)

Calvin Goddard, the authority cited above, agrees in this opinion about the paramount need of large numbers in addition to the most up-to-date designs, and he gives a revealing account of how the Allies, in spite of their stupendous preparations, spread over a number of years, suffered from a woeful lack of both in the various types of armaments:

"In the fall of 1939, and throughout 1940, the German military machine met these requirements, while every object of its rude attentions proved

† *Encyclopaedia Britannica — Book of the year 1941*

lacking in one or more. All were inferior in air power, whereas air superiority was a *sine qua non* to success. It likewise soon became apparent that no contestant could gain and hold vital objectives, unless possessed of tanks, in numbers almost limitless. France boasted thousands, but mostly of the world war vintage. Unable to steel itself to the financial sacrifice incident to their replacement with others of modern design, France puttered along with what it had.* Britain was almost equally lacking in the foresight necessary to the junking of obsolete equipment, or to the adequate production of new and better types. Though making a magnificent gesture at rearmament, it remained a gesture only. Came the day of judgment, and the Swastika floated over Paris."

So much with regard to quality. As to numbers, he says:

"What miraculous properties were to be found in the munitions of 1940 as against those of 1939 — of 1914-18? None. In weapons themselves there was little new or startling. It was in their mass employment that the revolutionary appeared. In contrast with the homoeopathic pills in which formerly administered, force was now applied in heroic doses. An objective against which in 1918 an infantry attack would have been implemented by perhaps a score of tanks and as many aeroplanes, to succeed or fail after hours of bloody stalemate, with unnumbered casualties on both sides, was in 1940 overwhelmed in a matter of minutes by literally hundreds of bombing planes, followed by as many tanks, almost without loss to the attacker."

It should not surprise us that France was "unable to steel itself to the financial sacrifice, incident to their replacement with others of modern design," and that it "puttered along with what it had", when we bear in mind the figures that each type of armament would cost to make.** Moreover it had already spent huge amounts on the Maginot Line, and reposed a faith in it that proved pathetic. The result was, Calvin Goddard goes on to say:

"Germany gave short shrift to the modest fleets of Holland (200 ships), Belgium (400), and France (1200). And, as an example of what could happen, those who defied German will, Germany razed in two short hours (12 noon to 2 p. m., May 14, 1940), in a succession assaults by massed flights of bombers, no less than 26,000 buildings in the city of Rotterdam, a metropolis of 600,000, this after the Dutch Commander had made the official signal of surrender." *

This, however, pales into insignificance before the destruction of Berlin and other German cities on which thousands of tons of bombs were dropped by American bombers night after night, and the destruction of Hiroshima by a single atom bomb. And yet the atom bomb is not the last word in destructive warfare. It was said by Nepolean that the essential conditions of winning a war were: "First, money; second, money; and third, money." The truth of this remark is amply borne out by the events of the recent world war.§

Baroda, 12-6-'46 C. S.

* "'France,' it has been said, 'was prepared in 1914 for the war of 1871, and in 1937, France is perfectly prepared — for the war of 1914'" - John Gunther (1937).

** "Just before the war started, according to the Federal Reserve bulletin for December, 1941 Britain's gold and dollar resources aggregated $4,483,000,000. Today (i. e. after two years of the war) there is only $547,000,000 available in this country (U. S. A.) with which the British Government can meet the many disbursements, not included under Lend-Lease.—Keith Hutchinson in *The Nation* dated March 7, 1942. Britain, which was till then, a creditor country, became a debtor country.

*Speaking of the Nankai University at Tientsin (China), Haldore Hanson says: "Rockfeller had invested $250,000 in its irreplaceable libraries and research institutes . . . All afternoon the planes shuttled back and forth. By nightfall the U. S. $2,000,000 University had been reduced to shattered stonework, resembling some ancient Babylonian city. What 5,000 years did to Babylon, the Japanese army accomplished in five hours." (*Op. Cit.*, p. 64).

§ Most military officers agree that, if Napolean should return to Europe today with the finest of his troops, he would be defeated by any second rate power, say Hungary or Rumania. Present-day armies have pushed Napolean's style of warfare back to the kindergarten," — Haldore Hanson: *Op. Cit.*, p. 160.

WORK AS EDUCATION

"Work is or can be a very powerful educational factor."
— *The Christian Newsletter* of August 8, 1945 under the caption *War and the School.*

This is what Gandhiji has always been saying. By now a majority of those who have cared to think over the problem have no hesitation in admitting that education through work, meaning correlating knowledge to work, is the best way of imparting it. But perhaps few will be prepared to find that work itself without a word of correlated knowledge, is education, and education of the highest order. We had a chance of trying this out, in the Sevagram Basic School, with the seventh grade boys. The stress and storm through which the country passed after 9th August, 1942, the fact that the present batch was the first undergoing training under the basic scheme and constantly changing teachers, had left the boys in an almost wild state. It should be remembered that the experiment was confined to the cotton processes required in spinning and weaving. As the material was raw, its effects under efficient and scientific supervision were bound to be more pronounced. Again fortunately we were in a hurry to find out the standard reached by these students in the various processes, from the cleaning of the cotton to the manufacture of cloth, so that we might be able to plan for their Post-Basic Studies. So practically for nearly five hours daily, the boys were doing pure craft-work, under what are called factory conditions, i. e. keyed up to produce their maximum. The word 'factory' need not shock anyone in that, educationally the experiment proved a success.

Economically the result may be summed up as follows:

Student	Measurements of cloth produced	Punjam	Hours taken from the cleaning of cotton to the manufacture of cloth	Rate of income per hour
Madhu	8 yds. × 32"	13	138	0-0-11
Ganpat	8 yds. × 32"	13	123	0–1–1
Bakaram	8½ yds. × 36"	13	117	0–1–2
Gopal	8½ yds. × 27"	9	127	0–0–9
Hari	8 yds. × 32"	13	135	0–1–0
Atmaram	8 yds. × 32"	10½	115	0-0-11
Vaman	8½ yds. × 27"	9	102	0-0-11

N. B:— 1. In calculating the time taken, there has been a departure from the usual practice. If three boys, say, have done sizing, then the time taken to do it has been trebled when calculating man-hours. Usually the time taken by those who help in the process is not taken into account.

2. From the price of the cloth produced calculated at the A. I. S. A. rates, the price of cotton was deducted. The rest was all regarded as the income of the children.

These figures need no comment. In a country where the per capita income is only a few annas a day, a child of fourteen earning 1 anna (or nearly 1 anna) per hour is certainly revolutionary. Thus, spinning can and should become a subsidiary industry in periods of enforced idleness.

So far about the economic aspect. This result would have been of no value, if it did not mean also education, i. e., improvement of the mind. The educational results were more surprising. We were afraid lest by making them work for five or six hours a day, without correlating any recognized form of knowledge, we might just be 'slave-driving' the children. Really speaking, however, there should have been no such fear. Our experience amply ϙore out that the 'insignificant' processes of cotton cleaning, ginning, carding, spinning, etc. were full of immense educational possibilities.

Punctuality and a sense of time were the first things stressed, and they were enforced with the utmost vigilence. The time-piece was always in front of the boys, and they were taught to have the eye always fixed on this indicator of fleeting time. An accurate record was kept of the time when the work was begun, when it was stopped, when it was interrupted. Its relation to speed, etc. was noted. It was found how lazy we were apt to become when we had no record of time in minutes or even seconds. The boys themselves again and again saw the advantage of always keeping it in front of them. One of them said one day as he was happily and swiftly plying his wheel: "It is the first time that we have learnt the value of time." Those who know the village life and our want of time sense, would not be surprised by the remark.

Again, it was found that unless one was alert and worked with full concentration, production declined considerably. As talking during work was stopped, the production curve immediately went up. But simple concentration is not enough. One has to be constantly on the alert for any defect in the tools used or in the manner of carrying out the process which must be immediately remedied. Lazily allowing the ginning machine to creak on through absence of oiling or some cotton seeds having been caught between the rollers, may straightway reduce production by half. Again, one has constantly to be thinking how best to prevent waste and promote cleanliness of work. Take the simplest process, that of cotton cleaning. The first day the average speed of the class was 6 *tolas* per hour, because the boys lazily and 'happily' talked on during their work. Talking during the lesson hour is prohibited everywhere. This was lesson time. Talking was stopped and the output went up. We had to think out what extraneous matter or dirt should be removed from good cotton before carding and what would automatically be removed by carding, how to hold the cotton pod so that its fibres do not get pressed together, which would make both ginning and carding very difficult later, how to pull out extraneous matter and raw fibres, so that the largest number are pulled out at one and the same time, and without bringing along with them good fibres, how to place uncleaned cotton, cleaned cotton and waste cotton, so that the minimum time is taken to pick up uncleaned cotton, pull out the extraneous matter and drop both the refuse and cleaned cotton in their respective places in the quickest manner. And to do all this in a way, so that the whole place looks clean. In this way, this insignificant process, so far entrusted to ignorant female labourers for a pittance, was able to teach the boys to do some hard thinking, inculcate on them a sense and value of time, resourcefulness, cleanliness, economy, art of arrangement and, last but not least, an eye for detail. "These are small things," said Gandhiji once. "But big things evolve from small things. An eye for detail is absolutely essential, and it is our duty as educationists to develop it in the children."

The other processes provided equally good opportunities for inculcating the above-mentioned qualities on the children. They had, however, also their own especial contribution to make. Carding provides an excellent lesson in rhythm and muscle co-ordination, especially when done by the Bihar method. Moreover, those who have an experience of carding know what a lesson in discipline it is to teach a boy as he comes out of the carding class, a very sheep of a boy, all covered over with cotton fibres, to clean himself of cotton fibre before entering another class-room. Spinning develops sensitiveness of fingers and co-ordination of the two hands, and the eye. Weaving requires alertness, speed and, very often, infinite patience.

The Educational value of the other activities during these days were also fully exploited. Take cleaning, for instance. The boy who was deputed to clean the room, was given half an hour every day. He had not only to clean the class-room with its walls, its corners, its roof etc. but also to understand that the surroundings of which it was a part, must also be cleaned, and the work was examined with as much care and minuteness as a scientific experiment. In this way our habits of cleaning our own house and throwing the refuse in front of our neighbours, was sought to be remedied, and a sense of neighbourliness sought to be developed in these

future citizens of rural India. Again, arranging *asans* everyday in new styles to suit the particular process in hand, provided good lessons in neatness and method.

But perhaps the most important lesson that was sought to be taught was that of co-operation. It is a lesson badly needed for reconstructing our villages and is one that can only be learnt through work. Work in the class-room was so arranged as to give the boys the sense that they would all sink or swim together, and it is surprising, how many opportunities for inculcating the spirit of co-operation can be found in that little world called the class-room where tuition consists in doing corporate work.

Within two months, the boys showed marked improvement in their general behaviour, which was visible to the whole Talimi Sangh community who had doubted the success of the experiment. The boys had become better disciplined and had done their work with great enthusiasm and joy. It was with pride and joy that they finally brought in their pieces of hand-woven Khadi.

We discovered that there was no conflict between the economic and the educational aspects. The close relationship between work and character was firmly established by various graphs, both individual and collective, which were elaborately maintained. The graphs showed steadily ascending curves. The improvement in production may be seen by the following figures for example:

Cotton-Cleaning		Ginning		Spinning	
Date	Average speed per hour	Date	Average speed per hour	Date	Average speed per hour
9-1-'46	6 *tolas*	9-1-'46	40 *tolas*	18-2-'46	262 *tars*
12-1-'46	14 ,,	11-1-'46	44 ,,	21-2-'46	306 ,,
13-1-'46	21 ,,	12-1-'46	63 ,,	22-2-'46	316 ,,
17-1-'46	42 ,,	16-1-'46	72 ,,	25-2-'46	328 ,,
18-1-'46	69 ,,	21-1-'46	104 ,,	28-2-'46	340 ,,
				4-3-'46	345 ,,
				22-3-'46	365 ,,

Tar = 4 feet

This increased production in itself would be no demonstration of the success of the education through work but for the increased mental capacity of the pupils observed and narrated in the foregoing paragraphs. The distinction between the workshop and a school-room where tuition is given through work consists in the fact, that in the workshop the apprentice works mechanically and slaves at only a part of the work turned out, no regard being paid to his mental growth. In the school-room every pupil learns all the processes, not mechanically but organically, so that the full capacity of the man in him or her is drawn out at a given stage. Looked at thus, the measure of increase in each pupil's work is the measure of progress in education.

There was time when we were afraid of our schools being called workshops. But we are no longer afraid of the same. Only our schools will be both economically more productive and educationally more instructive. It would be a happy day when we can plant one such 'workshop' in every one of India's villages.

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh,
Sevagram, 1-7-'46 DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

TWENTY RULES FOR DAIRY FARMS

[The following are points to be kept in mind by dairy farmers as summarized by the United States Department of Agriculture. They may be observed by our cow-keepers with suitable modifications. —V. G. D.]

THE COW

1. Have the herd examined at least twice a year by a skilled veterinarian. Promptly remove animals suspected of being in bad health. Never add an animal to the herd, until certain it is free from disease, especially tuberculosis.

2. Never allow a cow to be excited by fast driving, abuse, loud talking or unnecessary disturbance; do not expose her to cold or storms more than necessary.

3. Clean the entire body of the cow daily; hair in the region of the udder should be kept short by clipping.

4. Do not allow any strong-flavoured food like garlic, cabbage or turnips to be eaten except immediately after milking. Changes in feed should be made gradually.

5. Provide fresh, pure water in abundance, easy of access, and not too cold.

THE STABLES

6. Dairy cattle should be kept in a stable, preferably without cellar or storage loft, and where no other animals are housed.

7. The stable should be light (4 square feet of glass per cow) and dry, with at least 500 cubic feet of air space per animal. It should have air inlets and outlets, so arranged as to give good ventilation without drafts of air on cows.

8. The floor should be tight and constructed preferably of cement; walls and ceilings should be tight, clean, free from cobwebs, and whitewashed twice a year. Have as few dust-catching ledges, projections and corners as possible.

9. Allow no dusty, musty or dirty litter, or strong-smelling material in the stable. Haul manure to field daily or store under cover at least 40 feet from stable. Use land plaster daily in gutter and on floor.

MILK HOUSE

10. Have a light, clean, well-ventilated and screened milk room, located as to be free from dust and odours.

11. Milk utensils should be made of metal, and all joints smoothly soldered. Never allow utensils to become rusty or rough inside. Use them only for handling, storing or delivering milk.

12. To clean dairy utensils, use only pure water. First rinse the utensils in warm water. Then wash inside and out in hot water, in which cleansing material has been dissolved, and rinse again. Sterilize with boiling water or steam. Then keep inverted in pure air and sun, if possible, until wanted for use.

MILKING AND HANDLING MILK

13. Use no dry, dusty food just previous to milking.

14. The milker should wash his hands immediately before milking and milk with dry hands. He should wear a clean outer garment, kept in a clean place

when not in use. Tobacco should not be used while milking.

15. Wipe the udder and surrounding parts with a clean damp cloth immediately before milking.

16. In milking, be quiet, quick, clean and thorough. Commence milking at the same hour every morning and evening, and milk the cows in the same order.

17. If any part of the milk is bloody, stringy or unnatural in appearance, or if by accident dirt gets into the milk pail, the whole should be rejected.

18. Do not fill cans in the stable. Remove the milk of each cow at once from the stable to the milk room. Strain immediately through cotton flannel or cotton. Cool to 50°F. as soon as strained. Store at 50°F. or lower.

19. Never mix warm milk with that which has been cooled, and do not allow milk to freeze.

20. A person suffering from any disease, or who has been recently exposed to a contagious disease, must remain away from the cows and the milk.*

STORY HOUR

[These stories are taken from G. F. Vallance's *Stories that illustrate texts*, Volume I. — V. G. D.]

I

Plague was raging in London, and Lord Craven was about to leave it for safety. A coach and six stood at the door. The nobleman was stepping into it, when a Negro postilion said to another servant, "I should suppose by my Lord's quitting London to avoid the plague that his God lived in the country and not in town." The Negro's speech struck Craven forcibly, and he said to himself: "My God lives everywhere and can preserve me in town as well as in the country. I will stay even where I am. The postilion has taught me a fine lesson. Lord, pardon my unbelief and distrust of Thy providence, which put me upon running away from Thy hand." So saying he ordered the coach to be put away, continued to live in town and helped sick neighbours, but never caught the infection.

II

One day when there was an explosion in Lanerch pit, Thomas and Bennet were in a part of the mine some distance from the place of accident, but they knew they must hurry to the shaft and get out. On they went through suffocating passages, but presently, Thomas who was ahead of his friend noticed that he was alone, and Bennet was not following him. He stopped and retraced his steps to find Bennet overpowered by gas. He shook him, raised him and once more started him on the way to the shaft, saying, "Run, man, run for your life." This time he put Bennet in front. By great effort Bennet reached the cage and was taken up. But Thomas who had gone back to save him did not come to the surface, the foul gas overpowered him, and he died in order that his friend might live.

"Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John XV-13).

* *The Business Encyclopeadia* edited by Henry Marshall (Garden City Publishing Co., Garden City, New York).

III

A rich and miserly old man visited his rabbi who took him by hand, led him to the window and said,

"Look out there and tell me what you see."

"I see men, women and little children."

The rabbi again took the old man by hand, this time led him to the mirror and said,

"What do you see now ?"

"Now I see myself."

Then the rabbi said, "Behold, in the window there is glass, and there is glass in the mirror too. But the glass of the mirror is covered with a little silver, and no sooner is the silver added than you cease to see others and see only yourself."

REVEALING FIGURES

The following facts and figures taken from a pamphlet entitled 'Food Crisis, 1946,' are of special interest in view of the food shortage:

'Production of Foodstuffs in India
(1945–46)

Rice	25·8 million tons
Wheat	8·3 " "
Gram	3·0 " "
Millets	7·5 " "
Maize	2·2 " "
Barley	1·7 " "

The above quantity has been found insufficient for the total population of India and the estimated deficit is 6 million tons."

The Punjab, C. P. & Berar, Sind, Orissa and Assam are not exporters of cereals in normal times. The deficit areas are the N. W. F. P., Bihar, U. P., Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the States of Travancore and Cochin, all of which have to import either wheat, rice, millet, or all.

The production vs. requirements of foodstuffs annually is as follows :

Foodstuff	Production million tons	Requirement million tons	Deficit million tons
Cereals	50	60	10
Pulses	7	12	5
Vegetables & Fruits	Unassessed	At least double	..
Fish	0.6	9	8.4
Milk	22	35	13
Eggs	2660	146000	143340 (No.).

The following is a table of balanced diet for the maintenance of proper health :

Cereals	14 ozs.
Pulses	3 "
Green leafy vegetable	3 "
Root vegetable	3 "
Other vegetables	3 "
Fruits	3 "
Milk	10 "
Sugar & Jaggery	2 "
Vegetable oil, ghee etc.	2 "
Fish and meat	3 "
Egg	1 only

This diet yields about 2600 calories.

The adult Indian male requires	2600 calories
Female	2100 „
Child 12 & 13 yrs.	2100 „
„ 10 & 11 „	1800 „
„ 8 & 9 „	1600 „
„ 6 & 7 „	1300 „
„ 4 & 5 „	1000 „
Pregnant woman	2400 „
Nursing mother	3000 „

But how much do they get in comparison with other countries ? The figures reveal a sorry tale :

Country	Calories per head per day
America	3,200
Great Britain	2,600
Germany (after the war)	1,600
Japan (under American occupation)	1,575
' Grim and dangerous level '	1,500
and	
India	960

No wonder the death rate and infant mortality figures are appalling :

1942

Country	Death rate per 1000	Infant mortality per 1000 births
Australia	10·5	39
Canada	9·7	54
America	10·4	40
Germany	12·7 (1940)	68
England	12·2 (1940)	54
Japan	17·6 (1938)	114 (1937)
India	22·0	163

and our expectation of life woefully short :

Country	Expectation of life at birth	
	Males	Females
Netherlands	65·70	67·20 (1931–40)
New Zealand	65·46	68·45 (1934–38)
Sweden	64·30	66·92 (1936–40)
America	63·65	68·61
Denmark	63·50	65·80 (1936–40)
Union of S. A.	61·46	66·80 (1940)
Canada	60·90	64·70 (1940–42)
Ireland	59·00	61·0 (1940–42)
England	60·18	64·40 (1937)
Germany	59·86	62·80 (1932–34)
Italy	53·76	56·00 (1930–32)
Japan	46·92	49·63 (1935–36)
India	26·91	26·56 (1931)

" Place any other country under the same condition, with crippled industries, with agriculture subject to a heavy and uncertain Land Tax and with financial arrangements requiring one half of the revenues to be annually remitted out of the country, and the most prosperous nation on earth will soon know the horrors of famine," said R. C. Dutt years ago.

Too long has India groaned under the cruel foreign yoke. Mr. Winston Churchil and those of his ilk who talk pious platitudes about their concern for the minorities of India, should read these figures and pause before they dare to play the role of hypocrites. Not until our people are able to get enough to eat, can all our schemes for proper housing or roads or even education and health be of any real avail. Adequate and proper diet is the first requirement of man and to this end the energy of all Provincial Governments must be diverted forthwith if we are to live.

Poona, 1–8–'46 A. K.

A LIGHTER INTERLUDE

Gandhiji seldom has time for lighter interludes in his daily programme which, since his recent return to Sevagram after a long absence, has been more than full. But one such came his way yesterday when Shri Aryanayakam brought nine boys of the 7th class to meet him. These had all practically completed their seven years' course in the Sevagram Basic School. They were village lads from Sevagram and the neighbouring villages. Compared to those whom one sees working in the fields and who have never been to school, they were a heartening result of a first endeavour. They were clean, well-groomed, disciplined and well-mannered. Gandhiji cracked a few jokes with them which they entered into with merry laughter. One of them had the temerity to ask Gandhiji what type of boy of fourteen, he expected to be turned out after a seven years' course at a Basic School ? Gandhiji seized the opportunity of telling them that if the school had done its duty by them, boys of fourteen should be truthful, pure and healthy. They should be village-minded. Their brains and hands should have been equally developed. There would be no guile in them. Their intelligence would be keen but they would not be worried about earning money. They would be able to turn their hands to any honest task that came their way. They would not want to go into the cities. Having learnt the lessons of co-operation and service in the school, they would infect their surroundings with the same spirit. They would never be beggars or parasites.

Sevagram, 21-8-'46 A. K.

A PROHIBITION ANTHOLOGY

[For the English quotations below I am indebted to Tryon Edwards' *New Dictionary of Thoughts* (Classic Publishing Company). — V. G. D.]

1

सर्वं मद्यमपेयम् ।

आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र १–५–१७–२१

" One shall not drink any intoxicant."

2

" There is scarcely a crime before me that is not directly or indirectly caused by strong drink. "

Judge Coleridge

3

" He that is a drunkard is qualified for all vice."

Quarles

4

" Intemperance makes them engage in gambling."

Cotton

5

" Death wanted to choose his Prime Minister. Several courtiers presented their claims for the office, among these being various diseases and war. But Intemperance said, ' Give way, you pretenders. Am I not your parent ? ' The grisly monarch at once placed him on his right hand." Dodsley.

6

" Drunkards kill themselves as much as those who hang or poison or drown themselves. "

Sherlock

7

"I consider the temperance cause the foundation of all social and political reform." Cobden

8

एकतः सर्वपापानि मद्यपानं तथैकतः ।

चाणक्य (फ्रेंच) ३२

"All other sins on one side and drunkenness on the other balance each other."

9

मद्यपानात्परं पापं न भूतं न भविष्यति ।

चाणक्य (फ्रेंच) १२२

"There never was, nor shall there ever be a sin more heinous than drunkenness."

PREACHING TO EMPTINESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Downes was a Seventh Day Adventist. He was a quack like me. He was my guest years ago in Durban. One day he said he must preach the simple life to those who cared to listen to him. He succeeded in borrowing a chapel hall for one hour in Mercury Lane and asked me to preside. I warned him that with me as chairman in the very early days of my life in South Africa, probably in 1894, he must not expect an audience. He would not heed the warning. Precisely at the advertised time Downes began his address to an audience of one. I asked him in vain to wait a few minutes for other comers. He would n ot be party to stealing God's time and unconcerned, he went on with his speech. So far as I remember, a few stragglers, under ten, came in during the speech. I happened to relate this experience to Horace Alexander whilst I was in Delhi. He gave me in return the stranger story of Stephen Grellet a Quaker, preaching to emptiness. I asked him to give me the authentic version for the readers of 'Harijan,' it being a rich experience of living faith in God. I reproduce below the story as sent by Horace Alexander:

"Stephen Grellet was a well-known Quaker preacher of the early nineteenth century. By origin a French emigre (Etienne de Grellet), after a residence in London, he emigrated again to America, and in later life undertook extensive travels in the Ministry on both sides of the Atlantic. The incident here recorded is not found in his own journal, but was vouched for by his daughter and is accepted as authentic by his most recent biographer (W. W. Comfort). But it cannot be exactly dated.

"S. G. 'waiting on the Lord to shew him His will' was directed by the spirit to take a long journey into the backwoods of America and preach to the woodcutters who were hewing timber in those parts. Seeking for direction to know where he should go, he pictured a part of the forest he had visited before, but which had left his mind, and a voice was heard in his own heart, saying distinctly but very gently, so that only he could hear it, 'Go back there and preach to those lonely men.' So he left his wife and home. As he proceeded on his way, a flood of happiness came over his soul. Coming near the place, he both trembled and rejoiced. But he found it 'silent and deserted.' The one big wooden hut that remained, had evidently not been used for many days. The woodcutters had moved on into the woods, and might not return for weeks. Could he have mistaken the voice? No, he could not believe that. What should he do? He put up a silent prayer. Through the windless silence of the forest came the answer: 'Give your message. It is not yours but mine.' So he strode into the building, went to the end of the room and stood on a form as if there were one or two hundred eager listeners and preached to the empty building with a power he had never known in his life before. He spoke of the Love of God as the greatest thing in the world, of how sin builds a wall between man and God, but the wall is thrown down in Jesus Christ, who longs to come and dwell with man. S. G. thought of the silent woodcutters, rough wild men, and felt love for each one. How much greater, then, must be God's love for them! He prayed aloud for them. Finally, utterly exhausted by his effort, he threw his arms on the boards in front of him and hid his face in his hands. A long time passed. The place was still deserted. He noticed a poor mug, left as if to mock him. In his heart he hated the mug, and compared it with the beautiful utensils in his father's aristocratic house in Limoges in France. Why had he renounced beauty and luxury to follow a voice that led him on fool's errands, to preach to nothing but a cracked mug? He wrestled with this mood, and overcame it. He took the mug, cleansed it carefully at a little stream, drank from it, ate some dry bread from his pocket, and felt himself enfolded in a sustaining life-giving presence. He rode home again like a man in a dream, conscious that he was not alone. Years later he was crossing London Bridge in a crowd of people, wearing his habitual Quaker hat and coat. Suddenly someone seized him and said in a gruff voice: 'There you are. I have found you at last, have I?' S. G. remonstrated: 'Friend, I think that thou art mistaken.' 'No, I am not. When you have sought a man over the face of the globe year after year, you don't make a mistake when you find him at last.' In a loud voice, regardless of the passers-by the man tells his story. He had heard S. G. when he preached to nobody. He had gone back that day to get his lever from the deserted settlement. He had thought S. G. a lunatic, standing on the bench, preaching to emptiness, but had listened through the chinks. 'Your words went through a chink in my heart, though its walls were thicker than those of any shanty.' He was ashamed to be seen, so slunk away back to the camp, and was miserable for weeks. Finally he got hold of a Bible. How the other men laughed! He found the passage about the lost sheep. 'It's share and share alike in the forest. I told the men all about it, just like you. I gave them no peace till everyone was brought home to God. Three went out to preach to other districts. At least 1000 have been brought home to the good shepherd by that sermon of yours which you preached to nobody.'"

Sevagram, 16-8-'46

GOA

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

"With reference to Mr. Gandhi's short commentary on Goa in the *Harijan* of the 18th instant, where he gives the so-called "contrast" between French and Portuguese authorities, we have to state the following for your knowledge and publicity purposes:

"There is nothing more out of place as a comparison between French India and Portuguese India. The objects, administrative methods and the goal are absolutely dissimilar in their essence. The recent integration (1816) of the French possessions in India in the French Colonial Empire and its setbacks, have nothing in common with Portuguese India which for more than 400 years, has been benefited by the Portuguese administration, completely identifying its destinies with the Motherland.

"If the inhabitants of French India wish to identify their destinies with Free India (what has yet to be ascertained), the same does not happen in Portuguese India where the totality of the inhabitants wish to continue under the beneficial action of Portuguese administration which has been the cause of its material and moral progress to the point of Goa, being the pride of the Portuguese colonizing effort and part and parcel of the Motherland.

"These being the facts based on historical data, we trust you will publish the relevant corrections in your paper."

This letter to the Editor of the *Harijan* from the Head of the Government Information Bureau, Nova Goa, makes sorry reading. It is an example of the truth of the proverb, "Comparisons are odious." Surely there is not much to choose between French and Portuguese imperialism. The hands of imperialism are always dyed red. The sooner imperialistic powers shed their imperialism like Ashoka the Good, the better it will be for the groaning world. One may be pardoned for giving credit to France, where credit is deserved as it is in the case of French India, assuming, of course, the truth of the newspaper version of the statement of the Governor of French India. Moreover, it is ridiculous for the Head of the Government Information Bureau to write of Portugal as the motherland of the Indians of Goa. Their mother country is as much India as mine. Goa is outside British India but it is within geographical India as a whole. And there is very little, if anything, in common between the Portuguese and the Indians of Goa.

I have read also the contradiction of my statement about Shri Purushottam Kakodkar. I must adhere to it in spite of the contradiction of the Portuguese authorities in Goa. Here is what his wife says in her letter dated 24-8-'46:

"Shri Purushottam Kakodkar, Secretary of the Goa National Congress, was arrested while talking to a friend on 9-8-'46 by the Portuguese authorities. On the 10th he was removed to Panjim (Nova Goa). On the 11th and 12th, he was kept on half rations. When he learnt that the authorities were deliberately underfeeding him, he went on hunger strike on the 13th and was still fasting on the 20th.

"The Portuguese Government is undeterred in its policy and up till now (24-8-'46) no attention has been paid to the written request sent in by Shri Kakodkar for adequate food supply to himself and other prisoners."

I ask the Portuguese authorities whether they would allow a representative from the *Harijan* to meet Prisoner Kakodkar and ascertain facts for himself?

New Delhi, 29-8-'46

WEEKLY LETTER

THE LURID GLARE

"When the Ashram was first started in Kocharab we set before us certain ideals. Same ideals are before us today. What is our duty in terms of these ideals in the face of the conflagration that is raging in the country today? Let us be humble and confess that we have not got the strength today to meet all the expectations that the people entertain of us. But we are sincerely striving for it. If we had fully realized the principles for which we stand, we should have rushed into the blaze and offered the purest sacrifice which might have conceivably quenched the flames." — With these words Gandhiji took leave of the Ashram inmates at the final evening prayer gathering on the 24th. He was referring to the lurid happenings in Calcutta and elsewhere. He then proceeded to give his definition of a 'pure sacrifice'. It was not the thoughtless annihilation of the moth in the flame. Sacrifice to be effective must be backed by the uttermost external and internal purity. There is nothing that such sacrifice cannot achieve. Without the requisite purity, sacrifice is no better than a desperate self-annihilation devoid of any merit. Sacrifice must, further, be willing and it should be made in faith and hope, without a trace of hatred or ill will in the heart.

"Although we have fallen short of our ideal," he went on to say, "we have never been found wanting in honest endeavour. The art of jail-going we have learnt with the rest. But jail-going is only the beginning, not the end of Satyagraha. The acme of Satyagraha for us would be to lay down our lives for the defence of India's just cause. Let us then pray to God to give us the requisite purity and fearlessness in the true sense of the term, to make our sacrifice worthy of the altar. Then alone shall we be worthy of the name of the Ashram."

TEACHERS OF TOMORROW

In a previous issue was given Shri Mahadev Desai's summary of an address delivered to the trainees of the Basic Teachers' Camp at Sevagram by Gandhiji on the day previous to his departure for the A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay in August '42. He again did the same on the 23rd August in anticipation of his departure for New Delhi, at the instance of Shri Aryanayakam. There were 79 of them from the various Congress Provinces sent by the Provincial Governments, 30 being sent on behalf of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust. The function was

held in the Talimi Sangh Hall, just where it was held four years ago. Shrimati Ashadevi who is the life and soul of the institution no less than her husband Aryanayakam, has by her artist touch introduced a whiff of Shantiniketan into her environment. A finished Sanskrit scholar, she is a fine singer too. But her most valuable contribution is, perhaps, the motherly love which she has infused into her work and with which she nourishes her little pupils of the basic school. She had got the Talimi Sangh Hall decorated in a simple but artistic manner befitting its surroundings. Beautiful designs in white had been drawn on the floor and for light there were rows of earthen lamps which filled the place with their mild, subdued glow that soothed the tired eyes and nerves after a strenuous day. The proceedings began with a prayer. After the pupil teachers had been introduced to Gandhiji he briefly addresssed them. The main theme of his address was the educative value of useful, manual work. " One of the complaints that has been made by one of you, " he remarked, " is that too much emphasis is laid here on manual work. I am a firm believer in the educative value of manual work. Our present educational system is meant for strengthening and perpetuating the imperialist power in India. Those of you who have been brought up under it have naturally developed a taste for it and so find labour irksome. No one in Government schools or colleges bothers to teach the students, how to clean the roads or latrines. Here, cleanliness and sanitation form the very *alpha* and *omega* of your training. Scavenging is a fine art you should take pains to learn. Persistent questioning and healthy inquisitiveness are the first requisite for acquiring learning of any kind. Inquisitiveness should be tempered by humility and respectful regard for the teacher. It must not degenerate into impudence. The latter is the enemy of the receptivity of mind. There can be no knowledge without humility and the will to learn.

" Useful manual labour, intelligently performed is the means *par excellence* for developing the intellect. One may develop a sharp intellect otherwise too. But then it will not be a balanced growth but an unbalanced, distorted abortion. It might easily make of one a rogue and a rascal. A balanced intellect presupposes a harmonious growth of body, mind and soul. That is why we give to manual labour the central place in our curriculum of training here. An intellect that is developed through the medium of socially useful labour will be an instrument for service and will not easily be led astray or fall into devious paths. The latter can well be a scourge. If you grasp that essential point, the money spent by your respective governments in sending you here for training will have been well-spent. "

THE DAY

On the 2nd of September, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues put on the crown of thorns as a matter of supreme duty. For Gandhiji it was a day of deep heart-searching. In the early hours of the morning, while most slept, he set down to draft a note for Pandit Jawaharlal as to the duty of the members of the new Government in this supreme hour. The substance of it he amplified later in the evening.

Hailing the auspicious day for which India had so long waited as a red letter day in India's history, in his address at the evening prayer, he described it as only a step towards full Independence which was yet to come. He congratula ed and thanked the British Government for having resolved an age-old issue between Britain and India by peaceful settlement. Whatever it might have done in the past, this was no time for cavilling at old wrongs or reviving bitter memories.

A friend had asked him, proceeded Gandhiji, as to when the Viceregal Palace would be turned into a hospital for the poor as was promised by him in the presence of the British Ministers and Rulers of Indian States at the Second Round Table Conference in London. He had not forgotten that promise, he remarked. He stood by it still. Only the time for it was not yet. They could not today ask the Viceroy to vacate his Palace, while he still held office. Power had not yet been completely transferred into their hands. The Viceroy was still there with the army. Sooner, rather than later, complete power would be in their hands, if Pandit Nehru, their uncrowned king and first Prime Minister and his colleagues fully and worthily did their part. The Viceroy would then himself vacate his Palace and, to be sure, it would be turned into a hospital for the poor including the Harijans who were the poorest of the poor.

NO TIME FOR JUBILATION

It was not a day for rejoicing or jubilation, he reminded them. Their Ministers had reluctantly agreed to accept responsibility for the Interim Government without the Muslim League which was undeniably a powerful organization of the Muslims. The league had refused to come in. The Muslims were their brothers. Both Hindus and Muslims were sons of India. Our mortal mother who gives us birth is entitled to our reverence and worship. Such worship purifies the soul. How much more worthy of our common allegiance and reverence must be our Motherland then, the Imperishable Mother on whose breast we are borne and will die, he asked? " All those who are born in this country and claim her as their Motherland, whether they be Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian, Jain or Sikh are equally her children and are, therefore, brothers, united together with a bond stronger than that of blood."

Today the Mussalmans, continued Gandhiji, looked askance at the Hindus. Rightly, or wrongly, the League had come to believe that the Hindus had bypassed and deceived it and was therefore angry. The Mussalmans were observing the day as a day of mourning. They did not cease to be their brothers on that account. One could not return one's brother's anger with anger. Whilst, therefore, they could not join the Mussulmans in their mourning, it was up to them, the Hindus, to try to come as close to them as possible and spare

them provocation by abstaining from jubilation, rejoicing and other exuberant manifestations, such as feasting, illuminations etc. Exuberant manifestations were hardly in keeping with the solemnity of the occasion. The proper way of observing solemn occasions as enjoined by Islam, Christianity and Hinduism alike was by fasting, rather than feasting. They should utilize the occasion to turn the search-light inward and try to find out if they had really done their Muslim brothers any injustice. If there was any, it should be openly admitted and remedied.

At the same time he would respectfully tell the League, added the speaker, that it was neither logical nor right to regard both the British and the Hindus as their enemies and to threaten them with direct action. It could not ride two horses at the same time. If it non-cooperated with the British, it should imply co-operation among themselves. Why then should they non-cooperate with their own brothers? The Congress could never ally itself with Britain against the Muslims. It had today accepted responsibility for the Interim Government for the sole purpose of attaining freedom for all alike, including the Muslim League, not for any particular section or community. If a Minister joined the Cabinet to serve a sectional interest to the detriment of the rest or with a desire to injure any particular section, he was unfit to be a Minister. It was wrong for the Mussalmans to regard the Hindus as their enemies and seek to forget that they had lived together as good neighbours for centuries, were born in the same land, were nourished by the same soil and were destined to be returned as dust to the same soil. He would go so far as to say that the League attitude was un-Islamic. The remedy for injustice, if there was any, was to reason together or refer the dispute to arbitration in the last resort, if mutual discussion failed.

Redeem Old Pledges

What was the first duty of the Ministers, he next asked and replied that their first act should be to remember the Salt Satyagraha and remove the Salt Tax. It was on that issue that the country had given such a noble fight in 1930. It was the Dandi March that had electrified the whole country and brought women to the fore. It symbolized the Congress pledge to win freedom for the toiling masses. India's womanhood reached the high water-mark during the Salt Satyagraha and extorted the admiration of the whole world. It was now time to redeem that pledge and make the poor man's salt as free as water and air. It was not the quantum of taxation but the fact of salt being free or not that made all the difference to the poor. Removal of the Salt Tax would take the message of Swaraj into the huts of the poorest without distinction of Hindu or Muslim, caste or outcaste and serve as an earnest of early termination of all oppression under which the masses have been groaning.

The second task before the Ministers was early realization of communal unity. That could not be done by a Government notification. The Ministers would have to live for it and die for it. If he had his way, remarked Gandhiji, he would declare that hereafter the military would not be used for the preservation of internal peace. Personally he would like to see even the use of the police banned for that purpose. People must find other means to prevent the communities from flying at each other's throat. If the worst came to the worst, they must have the guts to fight it out among themselves without external aid. He ventured to say that so long as they needed the help of British arms for their security, their slavery would continue.

Then there was the total eradication of untouchability. As early as 1920-21, the Congress had declared untouchability to be a blot on Hinduism. They were pledged to remove it root and branch. The conditions of life in the sweepers' quarters in all the big cities of India was a shame. Before this, he used to appeal to the Viceroy to improve them. Now it was the responsibility of the Interim Government and they could call the Ministers to account for it.

Lastly there was the pledge of Khadi to be redeemed to provide clothing to the poor villagers. The Congress by a resolution in 1920 had resolved that all of India's inhabitants must be clothed in hand-spun and hand-woven cloth to the exclusion of all other. The Congress was still pledged to it. They had not yet carried out that resolution. Instead, people grumbled that they could not produce yarn which was required for the purchase of Khadi under the new A. I. S. A. regulations. Wherefrom was the Khadi to come if people did not spin? asked the speaker. They could not get yarn spun for wages owing to an abnormal inflation of wages all around. They must spin for themselves. There was no other way. It was the solemn duty of the members of the Interim Government to redeem the pledge about Khadi and to see that nothing but Khaddar was used in their homes or in their offices. As for yarn required to purchase Khadi, he made them a sporting offer. The new A. I. S. A. rules allowed them to present yarn spun by friends for the purchase of Khadi but not yarn spun for wages. As their friend, he would, out of yarn presented to him by the people, undertake to provide them with all the yarn that they might require for the purchase of Khadi. There was no doubt a dearth of Khadi in the Khadi Bhandars; but he would try his best to carry out their orders. He, however, warned them that it might be only coarse Khadi for the present and they would have to be satisfied with that. He could not guarantee to provide them with fine Andhra Khadi. For that, they must wait till India was completely independent.

Gandhiji hoped fervently that the Interim Government would give the right lead and put India on the road to truth and purity and real Swaraj. In that endeavour he hoped, it would have the loyal co-operation of all Indians.

New Delhi, 3-9-'46

PYARELAL

SOUTH AFRICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan who, but for the recent murderous assault on him, would have joined the Interim Government yesterday wrote on August 6th to me an interesting letter from which I quote as follows:

"My study of the Indian community while I was in South Africa, convinced me that but for your heroic work in the Union, the Indian race in that country would not have survived as a self-respecting community. You built up, cell by cell, the power of resistance in a highly gifted race and your work in that country is the inspiration of the Indian race in South Africa at the present time.

"My sole aim in South Africa was to lay the foundation of Indian unity in Natal. I do not think I succeeded completely in my aim but I am inclined to think that the heroic struggle which our race is carrying on at the present time, would have been impossible but for the dissolution of the Natal Indian Association and A. I. Kajee's Natal Indian Congress and the revival of the Natal Indian Congress, which you had founded in 1894. This was accomplished on August 29th 1943 and since that time, there has been only one political organization of Indians in Natal."

"The South African situation is complicated and owing to conventions of diplomacy, my lips are sealed. My despatches from South Africa which give a complete picture of the political situation for three years and are very exhaustive, cannot be published owing to conventions of international intercourse. . . . .

"I came to the conclusion that no redress of our grievances in South Africa is possible unless we are masters in our own homeland and India is free."

In reply to my letter acknowledging receipt of the above, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan further writes:

"You will be glad to hear that since my return from South Africa, I have been busy preparing my speeches in South Africa and have added a section in my book, shortly to be published, on the history of the Indian community in South Africa. In this I have made bold to give a brief account of your work there and followed with the greatest interest your march to Volkhurst etc. . . .

"For more than three years — 1942-45, I wrote lengthy despatches to the Government of India on the South African problem and in April 1943 I warned them against General Smuts' policy and told them to take the strongest measures against the Union Government in connection with the Pegging Act. . . . Strong measures have been taken now, but I am afraid, it is too late. If the Congress forms a National Government soon and the new member in charge of the Department, decides to publish these despatches, particularly from April 1943 onwards, they will clear up numerous points for the next session of U. N. O. I am bound to say that the convention is that such despatches are not published unless and until there is rupture of relations between two countries. I offer no opinion as to whether they should be published at all. This is a matter which the new Government should decide."

New Delhi, 3-9-'46

Why Go Abroad?

An Indian doctor went to America in order to learn Neuro-surgery, so that he might return and serve his people here. He has with difficulty secured a seat in the Columbia University and is working as a house surgeon.

He writes to ask me to influence students not to go abroad for the following reasons:

"(a) The amount our poor country spends on sending and training ten students abroad could be better utilized by securing the services of a first rate professor who could train 40 students as well as equip a laboratory.

"(b) Students who come here acquire basic knowledge in research but do not know how to equip a laboratory on their return home.

"(c) They have no chance of continued work.

"(d) If we have experts brought out, our laboratories will also get perfected."

I have never been an advocate of our students going abroad. My experience tells me that such, on return, find themselves to be square pegs in round holes. That experience is the richest and contributes most to growth which springs from the soil. But today the craze for going abroad has gripped students. May the extract quoted serve as a warning!

New Delhi, 2-9-'46 M. K. G.

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Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad
Subscription Rates – INLAND: One year, Rs. 6; Six months, Rs. 3; FOREIGN: One year Rs. 8 or 14. sh. or $. 3.